

INSIDE RUSSIA

For the past seven months we have all read more about the German-Soviet war than about any other single subject. We have followed the military events, the diplomatic side shows, the economic consequences of this struggle. Yet hardly anything is known about one of the two antagonists, the USSR. More than ever Russia appears a strange, mysterious land which few understand and many have given up trying to understand.

One can read very little in the press outside Russia about what is going on in the Red Empire, for there are only a few foreign correspondents left in Russia. Those who are still there are usually far from the front, and limit themselves mainly to reporting the boastful speeches of Losovsky. Moreover they are too close to events to be able to discern the great developments.

But out here there are means of following the inner development of the USSR—the Soviet papers and particularly the Soviet broadcast. By turning the dial of the receiving set and tuning in on the Russian programs of Moscow, Khabarovsk, Irkutsk, Vladivostok, or other stations, you can keep your fingers on the pulse of the Soviet Union.

For several months, in fact ever since it became clear that something new was evolving in the Soviet Union, we have been carefully collecting the information gained from press and radio. In a country such as the Soviet Union the really important events are never obvious, and rarely do the Soviet leaders call them by their right names. It takes knowledge of the USSR and the Russian language as well as a great deal of patience to see the points which matter.

In the following pages are the results of our research, results which we consider sensational. But for our readers to see their sensational character, we must ask them to read with patience and not to mind if at first some of the material presented seems insignificant. It is not. And to those who make the effort of thoughtfully reading through the following pages it will become clear that events are taking place in the USSR the importance of which, not only for Germany and Europe but for the whole world, goes far beyond anything that has happened in Rio de Janeiro or Libya. A tragedy of vast dimensions is in the making.—K. M.

STALIN'S THREE-POINT PROGRAM

Even before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the Soviet regime was hated by a considerable part of the Russian people and the non-Russian minorities. Millions of them had had to suffer through the Bolsheviks. There are few families in which one or more members have not in one way or another become victims of the Revolution and the Civil War, of famine and de-kulakization, of the frequent "purges" and the constant terror. Then came the war against Germany with its additional hardships for the population. In the very first months

the Red armies suffered huge defeats. They lost millions of their best soldiers in dead, wounded, and prisoners. They had to abandon hundreds of thousands of square miles of their most important agricultural and industrial districts. Millions became homeless. At the same time the Germans declared that they were fighting the war only against the Bolshevik regime, not against the Russian people.

Could the Soviet system stand all this? Would a wave of revolt carry away the Bolshevik regime and put a national Russian government in its place? Would it greet the Germans as liberators from the Bolshevik yoke? So the world wondered.

If the USSR were a solidly or at least overwhelmingly Bolshevik country, these questions would not have arisen. But the world is aware of the fact that the Soviet regime, although it succeeded in winning a large part of the younger generation, has on the whole existed more through the terror of the GPU than the love of its citizens. The Bolshevik leaders knew that this was the case better than anybody else. Hence there was only one chance for them to remain in the saddle and to continue the war. *They must try to make it a people's war.* They must try to convince the Russians that they were not fighting for Bolshevism but for Russia. This they could only do by completely changing direction, abandoning the communist ideology or at least no longer mentioning it, and above all by setting out to accomplish three things with the greatest possible speed and effort:

(1) Regardless of the cost, they had to force the Germans to wage war not only against the Red Army but also against the population;

(2) They had to appeal to those nationalistic instincts of the Russians which they had ridiculed for twenty years;

(3) They had to attempt to weld the Bolshevik Party and the Russian people together in order to make use of the whole strength of the Russian masses for the purposes of Bolshevism.

Doing all this meant declaring, at least temporarily, the bankruptcy of the Bolshevik doctrine. But it is to the advantage of the Bolsheviks that they know no inhibitions. They belong neither to a certain nation nor to a certain culture or moral code. Their motto is: "That is good which helps Bolshevism." With this credo they can turn in whichever direction they please without scruple in the choice of their methods. The feelings, ideals, dreams, and traditions of all others are for them only means which they use for their ends.

For the last six months the whole giant apparatus at the disposal of the

Soviet Government has been working with feverish and systematic energy at the carrying out of this program. What has been achieved so far?

EVERYBODY MUST FIGHT

First, we have said, there was the problem of inducing the Germans to extend the war to the Russian population itself. To achieve this, a plan was worked out that was insidiously clever in its simplicity: one had only to force the population to fight against the German troops, and there would be nothing left for the Germans but to take measures against the population.

On October 1, 1941, it became obligatory for the entire male population of the Soviet Union to take part in military exercises. The purpose of this measure was to keep the population well in hand in spite of all the defeats. The introduction of nation-wide conscription brought with it the possibility of organizing and supervising more strictly than ever all subjects of the Soviet state through military discipline. And the maintenance of discipline is of great importance especially during times of military defeats.

At the same time the mobilization of the people was extended to the entire nation, to both sexes as well as to adolescents. This is stated again and again. For instance:

"It is the sacred duty of every citizen to contribute towards the defense of his town or village, to carry a gun, and to be able to use it.... However far a hamlet or township may be removed from the front, proper military preparations must be made everywhere. Every town and every village must be transformed into an armed camp and a fortress." Or: "Our young people must be not only good workers but also soldiers, and the same applies to women." (2.10.41)

WOMEN SOLDIERS

This did not remain theory for long. One broadcast reported, for instance, that a women's organization, headed

by Comrade Kharinoshina, had sent with its gifts for the soldiers of the Red Army an accompanying letter: "Tensely and with pride we women are following your struggle, dear brothers, and when the time has come we too will participate actively in the war as truck drivers or with machine guns." (22.12.41)

Or a report was sent out saying: "The women of our region are learning the proper use of a rifle. Their first target practice took place yesterday." (13.12.41)

Let it be noted that it is not a question here of regular women's regiments incorporated in the army like those mentioned on several occasions in the Finnish communiqués or praised in the Soviet radio with such words as these: "Entire detachments of brave and audacious Soviet women are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their husbands and sons, having learnt how to use rifles and bayonets." (17.1.42) It is rather a question of arming *all* women and drilling them for fighting German soldiers.

THE DIRTY RED TIE

And not only the women. "Blood-thirsty Fascism has invaded our country. It wants to rob us of our happy childhood. So we, the schoolchildren, must do any work allotted to us. We must collect warm clothing and scrap iron, and we must acquire military knowledge." This is what two schoolgirls, Raissa Yolinova and Vera Yermolayeva, said when they were brought to the microphone by Comrade Vontchenko, Director of the Municipal Committee for Public Enlightenment in Khabarovsk. (20.10.41)

A teacher told the following story on the radio. She had noticed one of her pupils who belonged to the Union of Young Pioneers wearing a dirty tie and had said to him; "Do you know that a twelve-year-old child wearing the red tie of the Pioneers was hanged by the Germans? And look at your tie, how dirty it is!

Don't you know that this tie is soaked in the blood of our warriors? In the blood of the heroes of the Civil War, the heroes of the Red Army, the blood of the Pioneers? Don't you all know that it is your duty to help the Red soldiers and partisans?" On the following day, so she said, the children looked clean and solemn and said to her: "We have thought a lot about what you told us yesterday. From now on we will behave quite differently, and from today we shall also practice throwing hand grenades." The schoolmistress concluded her "Radio Talk for Little Children" with the words: "Thus the hearts of the children were set on fire by the right words." (18.10.41)

This is an example of how every opportunity, be it ever so minute, even a dirty tie, is being used to create a militant attitude in all inhabitants of the USSR.

FIGHTING NURSES

"Heroic Soviet women are helping to destroy the Fascists by joining the ambulance corps," reported the Soviet Bureau of Information on December 25, 1941. And in the communiqués of the Far Eastern Army the explanation is given: "Ambulance assistants and nurses do not only want to give aid to the wounded, but also to be combatants. Hence many of them are practicing rifle shooting." And one of the "nurses" solemnly supplements this news with the words: "On the battlefield we shall not only help the wounded but, rifle in hand, we shall also strike down the Fascist robbers." (4.10.41)

Thus no attempt is made to conceal the fact that there is in the Soviet Union no civilian population in the usual sense, that civilian men and women, girls and boys, children and nurses may and are even in duty bound to wage war.

NO CIVILIANS LEFT

The "partisans" so often mentioned in the newspapers are a part of this program. Some of them are regular

soldiers purposely left behind during the retreat of the army in order to become active in the rear of the German troops. The majority are civilians, among them women and children, who, with all the means of propaganda, are spurred on to carry out acts of war or sabotage against the Germans, as was demanded by Stalin on July 2, 1941, in his first speech after the outbreak of war.

In this manner the Bolsheviks succeeded in putting the entire population on the same level as the Red Army. A twofold aim was achieved: the number of fighting forces available against the Germans was increased; and—this is far more important—the German troops occupying a village or a town found themselves faced by an armed and hostile population, against which they had to take measures. And that meant the accomplishment of the Kremlin's goal. Now the Russian people and the world could be told that the Germans were fighting against civilians. The more this became known, the easier it was to enlist Russian civilians into the ranks of active combatants. If the Germans, they were told, are after civilians anyway, then it is better for you to shoot first.

"SCORCHED EARTH"

Closely linked with this employment of partisans is the "scorched earth" policy. It too was proclaimed by Stalin in his speech of July 2, and formulated more clearly in an article by the President of the USSR, Kalinin, entitled "What is true Soviet Patriotism?" which was read over the radio and in which he said:

"When the enemy advances, everything of value must be destroyed. One must not let oneself be disturbed by the thought that those are values created by us. There is no room for pity or regret in such cases. To destroy everything, to leave nothing behind for the enemy, that is true patriotism."

One should note that the President of the Soviet Union does not speak of the destruction of industrial plants

only, but of the destruction of values in general, i.e. of all material and immaterial goods.

Hence, when the Red Army leaves a city, the true Soviet patriots must see to it that the museum of Tchaikovsky, the house of Rimsky-Korsakov, or one of the famous Russian monasteries are destroyed or at least damaged. This has happened time and again. And it should be done with a clear conscience, for "there is no room for pity or regret in such cases."

Thus were the Russians blinded. Those who have read Dostoyevsky know that a certain desire for self-destruction is peculiar to the Russian nature. And now destruction was made a patriotic duty. The people were brought into a feverish state of hatred for the enemy. They began to harm and torture themselves in order to harm this enemy. When after the beginning of winter the German troops withdrew their advanced lines at several places, the reoccupied villages that had at one time been destroyed by the retreating Russians themselves could be presented to the world and to their nation as "proofs of German destruction."

BREEDING HATRED

"Our hearts are aflame, aflame with hate! Revenge! Revenge for the death of our fathers and brothers! For our country, for our beloved soil!" Thus the Soviet radio, incessantly.

"Yes, it is hard to listen to such things. But listen, Soviet girl! Hear how these German monsters threw an infant into the fire before the eyes of the mother and at the same time raped the mother. Listen and fight, forget your own comfort, your female sensitiveness." This is what Comrade Kononenko told women and girls over the radio. (28.10.41) And Comrade Kononenko is a specialist. You can hear her articles read quite often on the Khabarovsk wave length, always on the subject of women and atrocities.

The following program is meant for soldiers:

"My heart trembles when I look upon a German I have finished off. It is as if my heart were saying to me: you see, there lies a part of the duty you have fulfilled." That is what a Red Army man writes to his brother, a soldier in the Far Eastern Army. The radio continues: "And this letter passed from hand to hand in the detachment of his brother, evoking admiration everywhere."

Thus the Kremlin's first goal was achieved. The people have been plunged into a delirium of blood and destruction.

THE CHANGING OF THE GUARDS

The second point of the Bolshevik program we drew up at the beginning of our article was the appeal to Russian nationalistic instincts. How was this done? Let us start with the Guards.

One must remember what the word "Guards" meant to the Bolsheviks until quite recently. The Guards regiments, the most loyal supports of the throne of the Tsars before the Revolution, were in the eyes of the Bolsheviks nothing but "bands of class-enemies," "bloodsuckers," "drink-sodden bodyguards of the Tsar, created by that butcher of men Peter I for the protection of his tyranny over the people," etc. These were the expressions used in the press for many years.

Suddenly, on November 11, 1941, a decree by Stalin was published:

"For heroic deeds and brave fighting on the battlefield against the German armies the 14th Tank Brigade is awarded the designation of 1st Guards Tank Brigade."

Could that have been a misprint? For several days nothing happened. But one week later more units were given the title of "Guards," and by now this has become a standing feature of Soviet papers and broadcasts. Also, on November 13, a leading article in *Pravda* admonished:

"Everyone must fight for the honor of his regiment. Therefore he must

become acquainted at least in rough outline with the history of his regiment."

STUDYING REGIMENTAL HISTORY

History? In a country that had made non-existence of history a principle, that had always emphasized that history began only in November 1917 and that before this everything had only been preparation for the Bolshevik Revolution—in this country people were suddenly to study regimental history?

Soon it became apparent where this study of history was to lead. "Glorious were the old Russian Guards, they were in Berlin and Leipzig and Paris. . . . These mighty old Russian Guards, they died in the battles of the Great War." (15.12.41)

But it is not the old Tsarist Guards who are dead. It is rather the proletarian Red Guards of the civil war years. For it is not the proletarian Guards of 1917-19 but those of Tsarist Russia that are to serve today as an example to the Red Army: "The glorious war traditions of the old Russian Army have been taken over by the Red Army. The soldiers of the Guards are the finest sons of the Russian people." (29.12.41)

GUARDSMEN—OLD AND NEW

In order to do away with any doubt, Major-General A. Ignatyev, a surviving member of the old Tsarist Guards, had to speak up. Here are some of his most striking statements:

"The Guards may die, but they never surrender. . . . We the old Russian Guardsmen who have survived former wars are doubly happy that the best examples of Guardsman heroism in our history have not only been carried on but even surpassed by the warriors of the Red Army. . . . The heroism of the old Russian Guards was great indeed! They were born under the leadership of that great Russian commander, Peter the Great, in the temporary defeat of Narva, and covered

themselves with immortal glory in the victory of Poltava. . . . Their flags and standards bore the marks of German, French, and Turkish bullets. . . . Whole generations of warriors were brought up in their fighting tradition. . . . The magnificent name of a Guardsman carries with it a great responsibility. . . . From him to whom much is given, much is expected. . . . Many former Guardsmen have the great honor of standing today in the ranks of the highest command of our glorious Red Army."

Thus the circle was closed: the purpose of the title "Guards" is that the soldiers and officers of the Red Army shall consider themselves direct descendants of the old Tsarist Army and feel that they are "true Russian patriots."

IVAN THE TERRIBLE

Very often we hear the word *bogatyr* (hero) in the Russian radio, and again and again reference is made to legendary *bogatyrs* of ancient Russian sagas, who fought heroically against overwhelming odds. From month to month the language grows more nationalistic:

"With pride and dignity we bear our name: we are Russians! We are fighting for the Russian people, for Russia. We are defending our sacred homeland, our Russia, our Moscow!" (4.11.41) Or:

"Like the iron regiments of Ivan the Terrible march the divisions of the Red Army and carry on the glorious tradition of Kutusov's army of 1812. The soldiers are unshakably determined to defend the most precious thing in the world: the Russian people! It is clear: they are fighting for Russia!" (6.11.41)

These are the words and images with which the Soviet radio speaks to its listeners, day in and day out, words which appeal to the nationalistic feelings of the Russians, images which, in hours of darkness, are intended to recall the figures of the great Russian

commanders and statesmen of the past.

RELIGIOUS IMAGES

This tendency towards the taking over of old traditions does not even stop at the otherwise forbidden sphere of religious feelings. This does not mean that the Church, suppressed consistently and bloodily for twenty-four years, is now being treated with bighearted tolerance, as some people outside Russia may perhaps imagine. Nevertheless, religious images and conceptions are placed more and more at the service of the defense of the Soviet Union. At first, quite "by chance" and apparently without any particular intention, a poem by a young author was read in which the words of the famous Russian Easter hymn occur: "Death is conquered by death" (*Smertyu smert poprav*). They are to indicate that like Christ the Soviet people dies and is resurrected.

A few days after that an article from *Life* was broadcast which reported on alleged plans of Hitler's to do away with all religions. (The religious Russian listener should then think: what a contrast to the USSR, where the publication of the anti-religious magazine *The Godless* has been stopped.) On November 27 a lecture was given over the Kuibyshev transmitter which ended in the following almost biblical words: "Before the Day of Judgment thou, my Russia, hast taken upon thyself the chastisement of humanity. From us, from the East, the sacred light will come."

SACRED OR HOLY?

A few weeks later a further step in the same direction was made. On December 17, in the enumeration of the alleged terrible atrocities on the part of German troops, the following case was mentioned in the report of the Soviet Bureau of Information: "In the village of Yershov a hundred people were locked up in the church, whereupon the church was blown up." That the emphasis in this tale was not on the people killed but on the

destruction of the house of God becomes clear when one reads the closing words of the leading article of *Pravda* of the same day: "With *holy* fire in the soul, with *holy* thoughts, with faith in the complete annihilation of the enemy: onward, comrades, warriors, onward! Continue to strike down the foe!"

Those who know conditions in the Soviet Union will understand. During the past twenty-four years only the word "sacred" (*svyastchenny*) could be used, never the word "holy" (*svyato*). "*Svyastchenny*" is only a neutral secular expression, whereas "*svyato*" invokes religious ideas. So that when *Pravda* suddenly uses the expression "holy," it knows exactly what it is doing.

It is true, God Himself has not yet been invoked, but His name, for twenty-four years only the subject of profane jokes, is now mentioned in quotations from Roosevelt and other allies.

THE ICON'S DOILY

In the discussion of Molotov's Note on the "monstrous atrocities of the German troops," it was said (8.12.41): "The Fascists hate the national culture of the Soviet peoples. The religious feelings of the population are scorned." A few days later this theme was brought out still more. It was "reported" how an old woman in a village temporarily occupied by German troops complained to the returning Russian soldiers about the atrocities of the Germans. Pointing to the icon in the corner, she said: "They have even taken away the doily from under the image of God." (17.1.42)

We record these little stories because it is through the exceedingly clever publicizing of such small incidents with a human touch—often read from letters written to each other by soldiers and their mothers or sweethearts—that the Bolsheviks are achieving their greatest psychological successes. And we may add that by these means they have succeeded abroad as well as at home.

So they were not coincidences, these remarks made from time to time about the blowing up of churches, these appeals to the religious thoughts and convictions of the Soviet subjects. The people were being prepared to see in the Bolsheviks the guardians of the religious feelings of the Russian masses, protecting the holy images and respecting God. But one should be careful not to draw false conclusions from these facts. This is anything but a return to Orthodox Russia. It is simply a shrewd device, a powerful snare with which to catch the Russian people.

PARTY AND PEOPLE

The third aim of the Bolshevik program, we have said, was to unite party and people. Since the founding of the party by Lenin it has consciously been a small group of professional revolutionaries. By occupying the key positions in Russia after the Revolution and by applying skillful propaganda and ruthless terror, it managed to take the fate of Russia into its hands. But it remained separated from the masses of the people by a deep gulf.

In the critical days of the late summer of 1941 it became urgently necessary to bring party and people closer together and, of course, at the same time to take measures to ensure that the supremacy of the party could not be jeopardized. It was the task of the party to convince the Russians that their interests were identical and to safeguard itself by gaining control over a growing number of new party members.

JOIN THE PARTY!

Toward the end of September 1941 the importance of accepting new members for the party was pointed out at a meeting of the Moscow Party Committee. Since then a continuous campaign has been carried on for the winning of new members, and in radio reports and newspapers frequent accounts are given of the results.

Time is pressing. Hence today, in accepting new members for the party, the waiting periods formerly considered necessary are no longer strictly adhered to, nor is the genuineness of the communist conviction of the novices so closely examined. The Central Committee of the party issued a special ruling regarding the question of accepting soldiers who had distinguished themselves on the battlefield. According to this, the party organizations were empowered to accept soldiers who are candidates for party membership as full-fledged members after three months instead of after one year. For "war is the best test of men." But not only the bravest and ablest soldiers and officers are needed in the party; it was important that as many as possible of the hardest-working male and female workers, the most capable engineers and technicians, the most industrious peasants and peasant women should join. It would be suicide to do without such people in such desperate times; moreover it would be stupid to leave them to their own resources, for who knows what ideas they might get?

Many are applying for party membership. Once the notion that this was a people's war had penetrated into many heads through measures described in the first part of our article, the next logical step for them was to join the party, as only the party offered full scope for their energies in this war.

THE SENSE OF DRAMA

So weighty an event as joining the party must, of course, be accordingly dressed up. So the Soviet Bureau of Information reported, for example, that in the last few days many soldiers have sent in their application for acceptance in the party immediately before a battle (as if it were a sacrificial act!) Even in the remotest districts, provision was made for a dramatic staging of the event. A report from Siberia said: "Blizzard. A forest. A company on the march halts. A party

meeting is held. Applications are read out which say: 'We want to weld our destiny to that of the Bolshevik Party.'" (3.1.42)

Or a girl was brought to the microphone, Anya Tuchkova. Anya said: "Our country is in danger. In this dark hour of our land I have decided to join the party. (The girl's voice became hoarse from emotion.) I am an industrious working girl. I know no fatigue. I do my work, I stay in the factory till my task is done, and I swear (Anya's voice broke)... and I swear that with my life and my death.... (Anya burst into sobs).... with my death, I will hold high the banner of the party." (13.11.41)

And the announcer closed the performance with the words (in ancient Greece it was the chorus which fulfilled this part of the drama): "Our ancestors were brave and courageous. For our country, for honor, for liberty, we too will fight bravely and courageously."

Of course the composition of the party itself is altered to a considerable degree by the numerous new members. The type of the old party fighter had already largely fallen victim to the "purges," and the Bolshevik spirit of the new members is extremely doubtful. Nevertheless the party can well afford to take this into the bargain. For the profits are undoubtedly bigger than this risk. It is probable that the party actually acquires the most capable engineers, the best workers, and the bravest soldiers.

4900 PERCENTERS

Much has been achieved in the last few months by the Bolshevik leadership through the consistent psychological belaboring of the population towards the three goals which we have described. But is this enough for the continuation of the war? In addition it was necessary to increase industrial and agricultural production in order to replace at least in part the losses of

the occupied zones in western Russia and the Ukraine.

Listening to the Russian programs of the Soviet transmitters one gains an impression of the innumerable methods by which this is to be achieved. New slogans abound by which the people are spurred on to ever greater efforts. There is, for example, a movement of the two hundred and three hundred percenters, that is, of those who accomplish two to three hundred per cent or more of the required work average (recently even a "four thousand nine hundred percenter" was mentioned, 5.1.42). Then there is the movement for voluntary Sunday work, that of the *mnogostanotchniki* (multi-workbenchers) who simultaneously run several work benches. And then there are the mobilization of women, girl, and child workers, measures for saving coal and oil, etc.

AND THE RESULTS?

For military reasons the Soviet Union has for some time not issued production figures for the whole country, but the radio quite often reports partial results from individual industries and districts. For example, in connection with the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Committee in Khabarovsk in December 1941 quite a lot was said about production in the Far East.

Taking the entire economy of the Far East, it seems that the quotas were at best just filled, and this in spite of all exhortations. At the same time the price attached to this squeezing-out of the utmost in work production is very high. To give to the two and three hundred percenters the opportunity of overfilling their quotas others must stand back in their production. Moreover it does not speak well for the average quotas if it is possible for individual workers to surpass them by two, three, or forty-nine times.

Much of what has been achieved during the last two months was at the

cost of the substance and cannot be repeated. For instance, one can collect scrap iron and used nails once or twice and use them again, or re-employ old tools and discarded spare parts. But the more thorough are such collections, for which children are now being employed, the fewer of these old things will there be to collect in the future. The more old spare parts are installed, the faster must the remaining good parts of the machine be worn out.

HARROWS FOR TRACTORS

We have a similar picture in agriculture. The following was said of the district of Khabarovsk: "The majority of the *kolchosy* has not completed the plans for increased production." In itself this is not to be wondered at, for one can hardly expect agriculture to carry out plans for increased production which were made in the middle of the year. The question is whether the successes will be greater by next spring, and here considerable skepticism is justifiable. The main difficulty is the lack of tractive power. Almost all experienced tractor drivers had to be trained for tanks. The new ones are still inexperienced. It is becoming more and more difficult to obtain spare parts for tractors, as the industrial plants are in part in German-occupied territory, and had to switch to tank production. The supply of oil is also inadequate. Hence reports are becoming frequent that old-fashioned and primitive agricultural implements, such as hand plows and harrows—to which the modern Soviet Union felt itself so superior—must be put back into use. That again brings up another difficulty, the lack of horses, the number of which is hardly more than half of what it was before collectivization. Reports of cows being used as tractive power are increasing.

Every day the radio speaks about additional gifts of cattle and meat from the farms to the State. These collections go considerably beyond the natural increase, so that they are also made at the cost of the substance.

Hence the greatest danger, seen economically and psychologically, to the Soviet Union lies in the fact that she is living today almost entirely on her substance. And these losses in substance will, within the next few months, grow like an avalanche.

WHAT IS NOT MENTIONED

On many other points which are of burning interest to the world, the Russian radio and press are silent. For it there do not exist the tremendous problems and sufferings entailed by the flight and forced migration of countless millions from western and central Russia to the east and to Siberia. It does not speak of the victims of the war, unless they can be used to create feelings of revenge and hatred against Germany. It does not mention the grim terror and the frantic spy-hunting in the Soviet Union, nor the difficulties in caring for the sick and wounded. (And only those who in peace time have been patients in the best hospital of the Soviet Union in Moscow can imagine what the hundreds of thousands of wounded must go through in the disorganized hinterland of the war.) It says nothing about the forced moving into Siberia of half a million farmers of German descent, whose ancestors, at the time of Catherine the Great, settled on the Volga and who were making their living there as peaceful peasants. It hardly mentions the war in the Pacific.

It says nothing about the minority problem, today more important than ever, the significance of which we pointed out in the November issue of this magazine. The more nationalistically Russian the Bolsheviks are forced to behave (appealing to the Russian people with the ideas of Russian history and messiahship and emphasizing the indivisibility of the Empire in spite of its many national minorities), and the less they have to consider the already lost territories of the Ukraine and White Russia—the more they repel the remaining many millions of non-Russians in the USSR.

TO THOSE WHO REJOICE

This is the picture of Inside Russia. There are those who rejoice at this, who welcome every indication of continued Soviet resistance, and who hope for a final Soviet victory. There are also those who are willing to turn over Europe to Stalin as a reward for his sacrificing millions of Russians. To all of them two things should become clear from an examination of this picture of recent Soviet developments:

First, that this so-called national war is only an instrument for the support of Bolshevism, not a return to national Russia. The clever men in the Kremlin know that they must offer the Russian masses something if these are to be willing to bleed on the battlefields or starve in the evacuations. They treat the people like an emotional woman, whom they try with all their cunning to make compliant to their wishes. They themselves follow very definite aims. But they know they cannot tell her that. She must be won by stirring and dramatic words. A victorious Stalin would sit more firmly than ever in the saddle and would soon forget the old Tsarist Guards and the icons in the corner of the peasant's hut. If the Soviet Union of today really were a national Russia, as Stalin would have the world believe, Germany would long since have made peace with her, for the last thing Germany desired was a national war against the Russian people.

Secondly, that a Bolshevik victory would signify the Bolshevization of Europe. What that means can only be fully grasped by those who have lived in the Soviet Union during the last twenty-four years, or in the Baltic States in 1940. But even those who have not should comprehend that in a Bolshevik Europe—and who but the German Army can now prevent the Bolshevization of Europe?—neither De Gaulle nor Queen Wilhelmina, nor the other shadow figures in London, nor the European and Russian emigrants, will have anything to say.

THE SKY IS THE LIMIT

Those who believe that Stalin with his wiles wants to force the Russian people to fight only against the German Army, are mistaken. It is true that at first the feelings of hatred and revenge being fanned were directed against the German Army only. But lately they have been given much wider scope. In the discussion of the Molotov Note concerning the alleged German atrocities, the following was declared on January 6, 1942:

"We shall settle accounts, not only with those who rob our people, but also with those who make use of the plunder. All German women wearing such things should not forget that they will have to pay for them. And they will have to pay a price that will go many times beyond the market price of those articles Terrible retaliation will be meted out."

The Red Kremlin can speak frankly since it has been accepted as an equal partner by the Anglo-Saxon powers, since the Soviet flag has been raised on official buildings in Washington and London and telegrams of congratulation were dispatched to Stalin by shortsighted kings.

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In the picture that we have drawn in this article from the Soviet press and the daily broadcasts of Soviet stations, there is nothing to rejoice about, for any one. For it preludes the terrible tragedy of a great nation.

Here is what may happen: the Russians, with their proud history and cultural traditions, with their magnificent literature and music, and with the promise of great contributions in the future—this nation, including its refugees, is in danger of becoming the willing tool of Bolshevism as the victim of a crafty plan. Day and night its deepest and most sacred emotions are

being artfully provoked, hammered, and forged in order to bring the beating of its heart into a perfectly planned rhythm. Dazzled by the unexpected gift of national and holy phrases, intoxicated by streams of its own and foreign blood, driven wild by the ruins of a vast destruction, it is in danger, after twenty-four years of suffering resistance, of being finally harnessed to Bolshevism for the purposes of the World Revolution.

If this development continues, it will lead to sacrifices on the part of the Russian people that can never be replaced. Germany must wage this war to its end as long as Russia is a tool of Bolshevism. Today it is that more than it has ever been since November 1917. The more the Kremlin succeeds in identifying the Russian people with Bolshevism, the bloodier must the Russian losses be. Making use of the winter months, Germany—no longer under-rating the Red armies—is preparing for the spring with the resources of all Europe at her disposal. What we shall probably witness soon will be an all-out attack against a Russia already terribly weakened by losses in men, land, and industries.

The final outcome can, in the light of the successes of the German armies in the years 1939-41, scarcely be doubtful. Even the Allies in London and Washington will hardly entertain any false hopes on that account. For England continues to fight today with her confidence not in Stalin but in Roosevelt.

Whoever collaborates in this fiction of a Russian national war and propagates it, falls victim to wishful thinking or Soviet propaganda. He takes a share in the responsibility of spreading a dreadful bacillus and dragging the Russian people into a catastrophe which has no equivalent in European history and which is deserved only by the present leaders of the Russian population.